[Chaco Period]

A church wedding is usually followed by a party in which both relatives and friends participate. After being married the young couple go to live with the bride's parents, although this rule is no longer adhered to strictly. 177 585 [591]

BURIAL

When an adult person died, old people gathered at the house of the dead. Young people were not permitted to view or come near the corpse, as it was believed this could bring death to the young. Around the corpse the people placed all his belongings, clothes, tools, weapons, and ornaments. If anything were missing the ghost would return to claim his property. 761 764 [775]

After lamentations at the house, the corpse was wrapped in his or her clothes and carried to the cemetery some distance from the village; the corpse was placed in a grave on his back with the feet facing the west. This was done in order that the ghost, when freed from the body, could go to the Chaco. On the way to the graveyard a shaman would walk in front of the procession and as he reached the graveyard he would tell the other ghosts about whom they were going to receive. After the body was buried the shaman would be the last to leave the cemetery, his duty being to prevent the ghost from returning to the village. 764 [756]

After returning to the village, the relatives often burnt the house in which a deceased adult had lived. Sometimes, however, they were satisfied by changing the doorway of the house. The name of the dead person could not be uttered for several months. Members of the dead person's family would change their names. All this was done in order to confuse the ghost and to prevent it from returning to the living relatives. It was believed that if the ghost came back it would take a living relative back to the land of the dead. 768 [551]

The close female relatives of a dead man would remove their clothing and cut their hair as a sign of mourning. For a month after death they would wail at sunrise and sunset, sitting naked in their houses. The wife or mother of a dead man was supposed to show even more explicit signs of mourning. The widow, for instance, was not permitted to work or to bathe for many days. In addition, there were regulations which restricted freedom of widows and widowers. A widower was permitted to marry only a widow. If a man had 765 [587]

lost two wives, he could marry only a woman who had lost two husbands. Even with all the precautions taken against the ghost, the influence of death clung to individuals who had been intimately connected with a dead person. Today, burial is performed in a Christian manner although some of the old women still mourn by cutting their hair.

765 [587] [177]

MODERN CHANGES

Today the whole cycle of events which mark the important changes of status in individual lives has been changed. Children are baptized, youths go through confirmation, people are married, and are finally buried by the Church. An important period in the life of every young Terena is the time he or she goes to school. It is in the school that they learn, not only to read and write, but to understand the religion, ways, and customs of the people among whom they live.

778 797 [87]

There are two schools in Bananal, one the official Catholic school, the other, operated by Protestant missionaries. The Protestant school was established in 1925. Until 1935 studies were carried on in the house of the chief. After this date a separate schoolhouse was built. In 1936 the Indian Service built the official Government school. The curriculum is the same in both schools, being determined by law. The religious teaching, however, is different. The school year begins on February 15 and ends on November 15, winter holidays extending from June 15 to July 1. Classes begin at 8 o'clock in the morning and go on until 11 o'clock with a 10-minute recess at 9:30.

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The Protestant school today has about 100 students, with one American teacher and 3 Terena girls as assistant teachers. In 1936 the enrollment reached 120. About 20 new students enter each year. By law, students must attend school for 4 years. The three assistant teachers are in charge of the first 3 years, the missionary teacher instructing the advanced students in the fourth year. In the first 2 years the students buy only a slate and a few exercise books and pencils. In the last 2 years they have to buy textbooks. In the first 2 years they learn reading, writing, and simple arithmetic. In the last 2 years courses in geography, Brazilian history, grammar, drawing, and a little natural science is added. For half an hour every morning teaching of the gospel

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/50 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

601 "Hawaiian," after Murdock, (79) and to understand how unlikely
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79. Cf. 1951:64. Given the characteristics of this work, we did not deem it necessary to publish and analyze the Terêna kinship tables. The interested reader will find them in Altenfelder, 1949:327-334 and in Oberg, 1949:31.

[12] it was for the traditional social structure to survive, once the group was atomized in such a way as to impede or make overly
178 difficult marriage within the local group. This led, naturally,
621 to an exogamy of the local group, enforced as long as regular
[582] contact among the old aldeas was possible. With the Paraguayan
[648] war--as we shall see in the next chapter--, when these aldeas
[166] were destroyed and their inhabitants scattered among the fazendas that were beginning to arise in large numbers, the
595 old structure no longer had the conditions for its survival. Also to be emphasized with respect to marriage is its monogamous character, combined with polygyny, including its sororal form.
591 Finally, we can say that the ancient Guaná appear to have been
178 matrilocal, despite the fact that the Terêna incline toward
128 bilocality and neolocality. We believe that these indications are sufficient to give an idea of the Guaná-Terêna social structure, before we close this chapter with a brief account of the traditional superstructure.

771 For giving us an outline of Guaná religion, the chroniclers
[175] /51/ provide us with extremely uncertain data. Information
[576] from the middle of the last century indicate that the Guaná "believed in the existence of a great spirit charged with moving the sun," (80) and showed a certain respect for him. (81) But

80. Castelnau, 1949:304.
81. Idem: 248.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

population. The status of *warrior hero* came to be a goal for all males, giving the Xuna-Xati an intensely integrative function in the lical groups, by means of the correspondences and adjustments in the roles of the warriors and in their acquired social rights. On the other hand, by also stimulating skill and bravery in combat, it helped physically to preserve Terena society.

5. The Kinship System

Except for minor differences which do not affect the structure, our analysis of the Terena kinship system corresponds with that recorded by oberg (1949) and Altenfelder Silva (1949). We will limit ourselves, therefore, to classifying it as of the "Hawaiian" type, following Murdock (1951 : 64), and to analyzing certain important relationships that have a bearing on the problems dealt with in this paper.

Examining the kinship system we find that consanguineous marriage was prohibited. Neither marriage among cousins, whether parallel or cross-cousins, nor between uncle/niece and nephew/aun was permitted (cf. Figure V). Sexual relations between children of father's and mother's brothers and sisters was considered incestuous, since all the children were treated as siblings. Thus Terena society, by laying emphasis on the solidarity of a group of brothers and sisters in a fashion that accords well with the principle of the unity of the sibling group (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952 : 64-67), reduced even more the permitted area for matrimony, already greatly reduced by stratum and moiety endogamy. A marriage that seemingly would be permitted or perhaps even preferred, between children of siblings of the opposite sex of Ego, i. e., those persons classified as Nevongé, is actually impossible because of the Terena emphasis on the solidarity of the sibling group. Wheter or not such a marriage was once permitted as the kinship terminology seems to imply, cannot be conclusively answered on the basis of the evidence in hand. Present day Terena deny it categorically. And not even tribal mythology presents us with a clue, as it does in the case of marriage between in-laws.

Among affinal relations, the preferred marriage seems to have been with the spouse of a dead brother or sister, i. e., sororate and levirate marriage. Along with these forms there also existed simple and sororal polygyny although these were not necessarily preferred forms. To a certain extent these exist down to the present, although they are now resisted by the community, as was notably one case of sororal polygyny in Cachoerinha.[12] As to sororate and levirate marriage, we found

[12] Today this type of barriage is very rare. We heard of only this case and one other in the village of Brejão. In both cases the husbands and their wives

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
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several examples, not only in Cachoeirinha but also in several other Terena villages. Sexual interest between afinal relations is certainly a theme of the mythology, as demonstrated by the following Terena myth, which is today repeated quite commonly as a folktale. "An old

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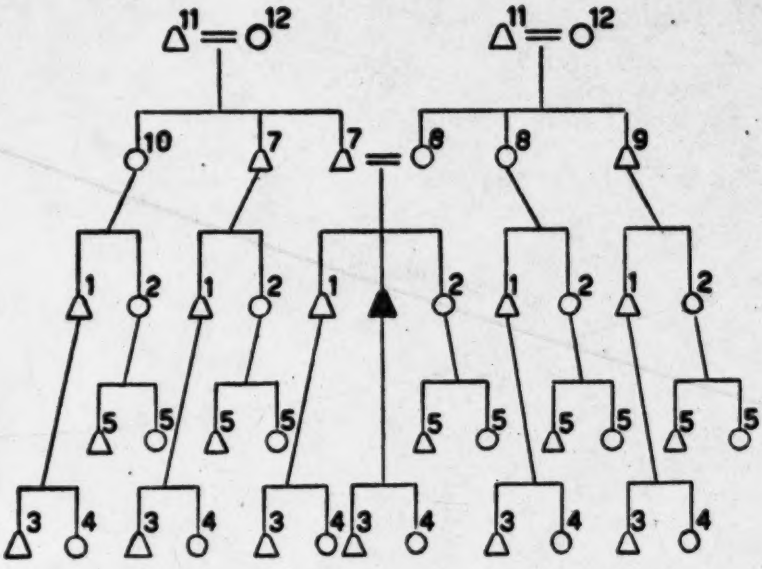

Figure V

(1) Angi, (2) Nongetxá, (3) Dje-é, (4) Inxiné, (5) Nevongé, (6) Amori, (7) Zaa, (8) Eeno, (9) Eungo, (10) Oongo, (11) Ongu, (12) Onso. All of the numbered terms, composing the consanguineous kinship system, are elemental in their linguistic structure, and are employed as terms of reference. These were the two criteria used in filling out our list of the kinship terminology. Nevertheless there are certain discrepancies to be found in comparing this with that published by Oberg and Altenfelder Silva: With relation to the maternal uncle (9) and paternal aunt (10), they preferred the descriptive terms Ayo-Eeno and Nongetxá-Zaa, which mean "brother of mother" and "sister of father" (noting that Ayo is the term for "brother" when Ego is feminine); while Oberg prefers the name Ayo-Eeno, Altenfelder Silva links Ayo with the address term Lulu "uncle". It is noted, further, that father's brothers and mother's sisters are called respectively by the address term Taata "father" and Neene "mother", in the same fashion as the biological father and mother. The kinship system also makes a distinction between older brother (Enjovi) and younger brother (Andi), when Ego is masculine.

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man liked his sister-in-law (we are transcribing faithfully the words of the informant). His sister-in-law died, and the old man, named Viily, buried her in the cemetery. Then the armadillo came and rooted

were much criticized by the community. They avoid public reference to their case, although they live in the same house and form an economic unit.

[587]

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

around the body of the sister-in-law and then the old man found it messed up. At that, Viily ordered a tarimba (a plat form above the grave) made so he could wait for the armadillo." The story continues, telling how Viily watched the body of his sister-in-law, talked with her spirit (koipihapati), consulted an old Koixomuneti (witchdoctor) to get magical powers and, finally, lost those powers by having sexual relations with a woman (the myth does not indicate the relationship of this woman to the old man). Leaving aside the analysis of the myth, which is not our purpose here, it is enough to point out the place of the sister-in-law in the Terena moral world, as an objetc of sexual and matrimonial interest.

Concerning this last aspect it is interesting to note the explanations offerred by the Terena when asked why he had married his dead wife's sister. He said that after the death of his wife, his father-in-law had sought him out and asked him to marry his other daughter, on the grounds that he liked his son-in-law very much, was already acquainted with him, and his daughter needed a "good man". It appears that here, as in other cases observed, there was the indirect influence of the mother-in-law, who acted through her husband (the father-in-law), and in other instances through an older son.

On the other hand Terena social structure does not permit *fraternal polyandry*. The permitted *levirate*, i. e., the marriage of a widow with the brother of her former husband, still exists, with two cases found in Cachoerinha alone. *Polygynous union* of one man with several unrelated women seems to have been permitted within the tradicional social organization. Twenty years ago it was still tolerated, as in the case of a man with a great deal of prestige, or who was a Naati (as was true of the next-to-the-last "Captain", and last real Naati chief of Cachoeirinha). Today it is proscribed. In this respect, "Captain" Timothy, the non-hereditary successor of this last Naati chief, comments that the cause of the "Captain" abdicating his position was his fondness of drink and the fact that he had many wives...[13] The common practice, nevertheless, had been monogamy, accompanied by matri-local, and today bilocal or neo-local, residence.

[13] Under normal circumstances, i. e., in accord with Terena social structure, "Captain" Timothy could not be a "Chief of the People", since he was not a Naati, but a Waheré-Txané. The title of "Captain", while it was designed to substitute that of "Chief of the People", has not actually done so, as evidenced by the much smaller amount of prestige that it enjoys, which in turn is a result of the "artificial" mechanisms by the Indian Protective Service, without taking into account the culturally sanctioned mechanisms for selection.